

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 286628

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR SCRANTON ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 286628 ACTION LAGOS INFO

GENEVA NAIROBI DTD 23 NOV

QTE

S E C R E T STATE 286628

NODIS

CHEROKEE, FOR EASUM, WISNER, AND REINHARDT ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SW

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO OBASANJO FROM KISSINGER

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO OBASANJO:

2. "DEAR GENERAL OBASANJO: I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE
FACT THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE TOOK SOME OF YOUR
BUSY TIME TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH AMBASSADOR EASUM ABOUT
SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT WAS HELPFUL TO KNOW OF YOUR CONCERNS
AND TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF OUR VIEWS ON THE CONFERENCE
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IN GENEVA WHICH WAS CALLED TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMATION OF
AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. WE ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE TO
SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES THAT I WANTED TO GIVE YOU SOME OF
MY PERSONAL THOUGHTS.

3. "I SHOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT AN ELEMENT IN ELICITING MR. SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS WAS NEGOTIATIONS TO ORGANIZE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD BE HEADED BY AN AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER. ALTHOUGH MANY DETAILS WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED, THIS FACT REPRESENTS SUCH A BREAK WITH THE PAST THAT AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS TOWARD FULL INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE WOULD BE SET IN MOTION. THE IMPORTANT FACT IS THAT MR. SMITH HAS AGREED IN ADVANCE THAT HIS REGIME WOULD BE REPLACED. A

SMOOTH TRANSITION COULD BE ASSURED BY AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND A REASONABLE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD SO THAT THE CHANGE WILL TAKE PLACE WITH DUE CONCERN FOR THE JUST AND LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL RHODESIANS.

4. WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA, I AM CONCERNED THAT THERE MAY BE SOME MISAPPREHENSION AS TO WHERE THINGS STAND. YOU WILL RECALL FROM AMBASSADOR REINHARDT'S VISIT THAT WE HAD ACHIEVED SOME IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA, NAMELY THAT THE VENUE OF THE WINDHOEK CONFERENCE COULD BE SHIFTED, THAT IT COULD BE HELD UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THAT SWAPO WOULD BE INVITED.

5. "BY THE TIME I MET WITH SAM NUJOMA IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 29, WE WERE CONFIDENT THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE POINTS, WE COULD SECURE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT A CONFIRMATION OF THE DATE OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. MOREOVER, I EXPECT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE ALL ISSUES CONCERNING NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND ACCEPT THE CONFERENCE'S CONCLUSIONS ON A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT.

6. "IN MORE RECENT CONSULTATIONS I SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING A FURTHER IMPORTANT CONCESSION, NAMELY THAT INSTEAD OF RECONVENING THE WINDHOEK CONFERENCE IN GENEVA, THE WINDHOEK CONFERENCE WOULD SEND ONLY A REPRESENTATIVE
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DELEGATION TO GENEVA, THUS MAKING CLEAR THAT THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA WAS NEW AND DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN WINDHOEK. THIS WOULD ALSO MEET SWAPO'S INITIAL CONCERN THAT ITS VOICE WOULD BE LOST IN A LARGE GATHERING. FINALLY, I THINK IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE CAN SECURE THE RELEASE OF MANY SWAPO PRISONERS.

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7. "AS I EXPLAINED TO MR. NUJOMA, THE PROPOSALS WHICH I DISCUSSED WITH HIM OFFER A CLEAR ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, GIVEN SOUTH AFRICA'S WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AND STAND BY A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT. I ALSO EXPRESSED TO MR. NUJOMA

MY VIEW THAT, BECAUSE OF ITS STRONG INTERNATIONAL BACKING, INCLUDING UN AND OAU RECOGNITION, SWAPO WOULD BE PRE-EMINENT BOTH AT THE TIME OF THE CONFERENCE AND AT INDEPENDENCE.

8. "IT IS CLEAR THAT WE ARE REACHING THE OUTSIDE LIMITS OF WHAT CAN BE OBTAINED FROM SOUTH AFRICA IN THE ABSENCE OF ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS. I UNDERSTOOD THAT MR. NUJOMA WOULD BE CONSULTING HIS COLLEAGUES AND VARIOUS AFRICAN LEADERS, THAT HE WOULD BE GIVING MORE THOUGHT TO THE MATTER AND THAT HE WOULD BE BACK IN COMMUNICATION WITH US.

9. "AS IN THE RHODESIAN CASE WE MUST DEAL WITH THE REALITIES AS MUCH AS THE LEGALITIES. SOUTH AFRICA ILLEGALLY HOLDS POWER IN NAMIBIA, BUT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING SOME CONCESSIONS AND BELIEVE WE CAN GET OTHERS WHICH WILL RESULT IN NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. BUT NEGOTIATION BY DEFINITION MEANS COMPROMISE. THE MODALITIES CAN BE NEGOTIATED QUITE EASILY, I BELIEVE, AND WOULD BE FAVORABLE TO SWAPO ONCE THE PROCESS BEGAN. WHAT SEEMS TO BE NEEDED NOW IS A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM SWAPO.

10. "THE ROAD TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IS OPEN, AND COULD BE ACHIEVED RAPIDLY. I REMAIN PREPARED TO HELP BUT CAN TAKE NO FURTHER ACTION UNTIL ADVISED HOW MR. NUJOMA WISHES TO PROCEED. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER."

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KISSINGER UNQTE ROBINSON

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